Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

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PAGE 01 MADRID 02625 01 OF 02 062108Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
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PAGE 02 MADRID 02625 01 OF 02 062108Z

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Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 2625

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, SP
SUBJECT: CSCE - SPAIN

REF: (A) MADRID 2059; (B) MADRID 0683; (C) 76 MADRID 9058

1. SUMMARY: IN CONSULTATIONS APR 4 IN MADRID WITH MARESCA (EUR/ RPM) AND CORIDEN (CSCE COMMISSION), SPAIN'S SPECIAL AMBASSADOR FOR CSCE, JUAN LUIS PAN DE SORALUCE Y OLMOS, PROVED WELL-INFORMED AND CLEARLY IN THE MAINSTREAM OF OFFICIAL WESTERN OPINION REGARDING THE BELGRADE REVIEW CONFERENCE. WITHIN THIS CONTEXT, HE MARKED OUT POSSIBLE SPANISH POSITIONS WHICH WOULD
--NOT HAVE SPAIN SEEK YET TO "GO TO THE HEAD OF THE CLASS" ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES,
--SUPPORT AN EVENTUAL HIGH-LEVEL MEETING ON THE ENVIRONMENT WITHIN THE ECE CONTEXT,
--LOOK FAVORABLY ON ESTABLISHMENT OF A MEDITERRANEAN WORKING GROUP DURING BELGRADE MEETING FOR BASKET TWO ISSUES, AND
-- SEEK TO DEVELOP BY EXAMPLE THE SPANISH CSCE PROPOSAL ON EXCHANGE OF MILITARY VISITS. END SUMMARY.

2. SPANISH POSTURE AT BELGRADE: PAN DE SORALUCE DESCRIBED THE LIKELY SPANISH POSTURE AT BELGRADE AS STILL ROUGHLY SIMILAR TO THAT ACTIVE "NO-MAN'S LAND" SPAIN HAD OCCUPIED AT CSCE--A POSITION OF AFFINITY BOTH FOR WESTERN POSITIONS AND SOME NON-CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 MADRID 02625 01 OF 02 062108Z

ALIGNED POSITIONS, PLUS ABILITY TO SUPPORT CERTAIN EASTERN INITIATIVES. HE CAST THE SPANISH POSITION CLEARLY WITHIN THE NOW BROADLY ACCEPTED WESTERN APPROACH TO THE REVIEW PROCESS WHICH WOULD: FOCUS ON CAREFUL REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT, BUT WITH A MINIMUM OF POLEMICS; UNDERLINE THE INTEGRITY OF THE FINAL ACT; LIMIT THE NUMBER OF NEW INITIA-TIVES; SEEK TO COMPLETE THE REVIEW SESSION BY CHRISTMAS WHILE AVOIDING ARTIFICIAL DEADLINES; SHARPLY LIMIT CREATION OF ANY NEW MACHINERY; AND POINT TOWARD A FURTHER REVIEW CONFERENCE SHOULD THIS ONE PROVE USEFUL. HE EXPRESSED PARTICULAR CONCERN THAT MEDITERRANEAN ISSUES NOT BE ALLOWED TO BECOME THE SOLE PREOGATIVE OF THE NONALIGNED.

3. BASKET ONE---CBM'S: PAN DE SORALUCE SAID SPAIN WOULD IN PRINCIPLE FAVOR A REDUCTION IN THE NOTIFICATION THRESHOLD OR SIMILAR CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS BUT DID NOT THINK PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT SHOULD BE REVISED AND FEARED THE CLIMATE WAS NOT SUCH AS TO ALLOW SUCH PROPOSALS TO PROSPER. PERHAPS SPAIN WOULD BE ABLE TO IMPLEMENT IN SOME WAY PRE-BELGRADE ITS OWN CSCE

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

INITIATIVE ON EXCHANGE OF MILITARY VISITS AS A GUIDELINE THAT OTHERS AT BELGRADE MIGHT FIND OF INTEREST. SPAIN MIGHT ALSO VOLUNTARILY NOTIFY ONE OR MORE SMALLER MILITARY MANEUVERS PRE-BELGRADE, ALTHOUGH IT WAS STILL DIFFICULT FOR THE SPANISH MILITARY TO ACCEPT A WIDE CIRCLE OF OBSERVERS (A REFERENCE APPARENTLY BOTH TO EASTERN EUROPE AND CERTAIN NATO NATIONS), AND ANY OBSERVERS WHICH MIGHT BE INVITED THEREFORE WOULD BE SELECTED ON A BASIS OF GEOGRAPHIC PROXIMITY. THE SPANISH FIRST VICE PRESIDENT FOR DEFENSE MATTERS (GUTIERREZ MELLADO) HAD INDICATED SUPPORT FOR USCH INITIATIVES BUT PAN DE SORALUCE HAD YET TO TRANSLATE THIN INTO SPECIFICS WITH THE SPANISH MILITARY' SERVICES.

4. THE POSSIBILITY OF NOTIFICATION OF A JOINT SPANISH-US MANEUVER WAS TOUCHED ON, WITH MARESCA EXPLAINING THE 10,000 TROOP RULE OF THUMB (FAR ABOVE THE SIZE OF ANY SUCH JOINT MANEUVERS).
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5. SPANISH REVIEW OF THE POSSIBILITIES FOR MEDITERRANEAN CBM'S HAD PRODUCED, PAN DE SORALUCE REPORTED, NO SUGGESTION OF ANYTHING VIABLE. (IN THIS CONTEXT, HE SPECIFICALLY REJECTED NAVAL CBM'S, NEUTRAL AREAS, AND NON-CSCE STATE ADHERENCE TO EXISTING CBM'S.) FURTHER, SPAIN WOULD NOT RAISE AS A GOAL OF CSCE ITS LONG-TERM (POST-MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT) GOAL OF A MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY SYSTEM.

6. BASKET TWO: PAN DE SORALUCE FOUND NO PROBLEMS FOR SPAIN IN THIS BASKET, NOR ANY TEMPTATION TO PRESS FOR NEW INITIATIVES, GIVEN THE AMOUNT OF USEFUL WORK THAT REMAINED TO BE DONE TO IMPLEMENT WHAT THE BASKET ALREADY CONTAINED. REGARDING BREZHNEV'S PAN-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE PROPOSAL, PAN DE SORALUCE THOUGHT THAT THE RECENT BREZHNEV LETTER HAD REPRESENTED SOME IMPROVEMENT. SPAIN CONTINUED TO OPPOSE AN ENERGY CONFERENCE AND TO DOUBT THE UTILITY OF A TRANSPORTATION CONFERENCE, ESPECIALLY AT THE LEVEL PROPOSED. AN ENVIRONMENTAL CONFERENCE MIGHT MAKE SENSE, BUT IT SEEMED TACTICALLY UNWISE TO ATTEMPT THUS TO DISTINGUISH AMONG THE BREZHNEV CONFERENCE PROPOSALS. THUS, THE SPANISH POSITION INCLINED TOWARD THE VIEWS OF STANOVNIK, I.E., TO PROCEED AT THE EXPERT LEVEL WITHIN THE ECE, POSSIBLY ADDING WITH RESPECT TO ENVIRONMENTAL QUESTIONS AN INSTRUCTION TO STANOVNIK (A) TO WORK TOWARD FORMATION OF WORKING GROUPS ON A SUBREGIONAL BASIS (INCLUDING, FOR EXAMPLE, A WORKING GROUP ON POLLUTION OF THE MEDITERRANEAN), AND (B) TO PRODUCE A FURTHER REPORT TO THE 33RD ECE PLENARY. SUBSEQUENTLY THERE MIGHT BE CONVENED A HIGH-LEVEL (EVEN MINISTERIAL) MEETING WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE ECE. THIS APPROACH WAS DESIGNED BOTH TO BE MORE RESPONSIVE TO STANOVNIK AND TO REDUCE THE POSSIBIL-ITIES FOR THE SOVIETS TO MAKE CAPITAL OUT OF THIS ISSUE AT

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

BELGRADE. IT ALSO HAD INTRINSIC VALUE, AND APPEARED TO
COINCIDE WITH THE VIEWPOINT OF THE EC-9 AND OTHERS. (SEE US
MISSION GENEVA 2206 FOR PARALLEL REPORT.) PAN DE SORALUCE
WILL ATTEND THE 32ND SESSION TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH DEVELOPMENTS
IN THIS AREA.
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PAGE 05 MADRID 02625 01 OF 02 062108Z

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PAGE 01 MADRID 02625 02 OF 02 062120Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
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Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

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PAGE 02 MADRID 02625 02 OF 02 062120Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 2625

7. BASKET THREE: PAN DE SORALUCE DESCRIBED THE PRESENT SPANISH POSITION AS ONE WHICH WOULD DEMONSTRATE GREATER SPANISH CONFIDENCE IN DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS. SPANISH FEEL THEY HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS ON BASKET III SUBJECTS SINCE HELSINKI. WHILE SPAIN WOULD BE DISSATISFIED WITH SIMPLY A PERFUNCTORY LOOK AT IMPLEMENTATION, IT WISHED TO AVOID EXAGGERATED ATTENTION TO ONE ASPECT OF CSCE AND, FOR ITSELF, RECOGNIZED THAT THE SPANISH PAST AND THE PRESENT REGIONAL PROBLEMS IN SPAIN (BASQUE, CATALAN) ADVISED AGAINST A SPANISH EFFORT TO "GO TO THE HEAD OF THE CLASS." NO EASTERN EUROPEAN GOVT HAD YET PROPOSED TO THE SPANISH THE PREPARATION OF A BILATERAL BALANCE-SHEET, AND HE WAS INCLINED TO PREFER MORE DETAILED TREATMENT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES THAN THIS APPROACH WOULD ALLOW. THE LIMIT OF SPANISH WILLINGNESS TO HAVE CSCE DEAL WITH HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES WOULD STOP SHORT OF TREATING REGIONAL NATIONALITY ISSUES OTHER THAN WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF DIVERSITY WITIN A SINGLE NATION. HE NOTED PARENTHETICALLY THAT SPAIN WOULD NOT RAISE THE GIBRALTAR ISSUE (WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS A "COLONIAL ISSUE") IN THE CONTEXT OF CSCE DISCUSSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. HE ALSO EXPRESSED SOME CONCERN LEST WESTERN EFFORTS INSPIRE EASTERN EUROPEAN DISSIDENTS TO ACT RASHLY.

8. PAN DE SORALUCE SEEMED INCLINED TO AGREE THAT BASKET III DISCUSSIONS MIGHT BEST PROCEED FROM GENERAL PLENARY REMARKS TO COMMITTEES, WITH A CLOSING PLENARY DISCUSSION, WHICH HE THOUGHT MIGHT BEST TAKE PLACE WITHOUT PRESS ATTENDANCE.
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PAGE 03 MADRID 02625 02 OF 02 062120Z

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

9. WITH RESPECT TO REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES, HE INDICATED THAT THE SMALL SPANISH PROBLEM WITH ROMANIA MIGHT BE ON THE WAY TO RESOLUTION. OF FIVE DIFFICULT CASES, ONE HAD RECENTLY BEEN SOLVED AND THERE WAS HOPE THAT FURTHER CASES WOULD BE TAKEN CARE OF IN THE CONTEXT OF AN EARLY VISIT BY ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR LIPATTI TO MADRID. THERE REMAINED (FROM THE CIVIL WAR) A POTENTIAL REUNIFICATION ISSUE WITH THE SOVIET UNION BUT THIS HAD NOT YET MATERIALIZED.

10. THE MEDITERRANEAN: PAN DE SORALUCE URGED UNDERSTANDING OF THE IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING THE MEDITERRANEAN'S BECOMING AN EXCLUSIVE AREA OF INITIATIVE AT CSCE FOR THE NONALIGNED. HE DESCRIBED THE MEDITERRANEAN AS A EUROPEAN SECURITY PROBLEM WHICH SHOULD BE ADDRESSED BY EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. WHILE THERE SEEMED NO PROSPECT FOR VIABLE MEDITERRANEAN CBM'S (SEE ABOVE), BASKET II DID SEEM TO OFFER POSSIBILITIES AS DID COOPERATION IN THE CULTURAL AND TECHNICAL FIELDS. BY PROMOTING SOME INITIATIVES IN THIS AREA, SPAIN WOULD HOPE TO AVOID A SITUA-TION IN WHICH THE NORTHERN EUROPEANS AND NONALIGNED PARTICI-PANTS FOUND THEMSELVES AT LOGGERHEADS (WITH SPAIN IN THE MIDDLE).

11. AS FOR THE PROCEDURE, A POST-BELGRADE CONFERENCE OF CSCE AND NON-CSCE MEDITERRANEAN STATES DID NOT SEEM THE ANSWER. PERHAPS A MEDITERRANEAN COMMITTEE OR WORKING GROUP DURING THE MAIN BELGRADE MEETING WITH A MANDATE TO DEAL MAINLY WITH BASKET II ISSUES--WITH NON-CSCE MEDITERRANEAN STATES MAKING INDIVIDUAL APPEARANCES--WOULD BE THE BEST SOLUTION. HE THOUGHT THERE WERE ALSO SOME CSCE-RELATED POINTS IN THE PROGRAMS OF BOTH THE ECE AND UNESCO WHICH MIGHT BE GIVEN A MORE MEDITERRANEAN FLAVOR.

12. PAN DE SORALUCE AGREED THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO EFFORT TO CHANGE AT BELGRADE THE PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS EMPLOYED AT CSCE, ALTHOUGH HE HOPED THE REPRESENTATIVES OF MEDITERRANEAN NON-CSCE STATES MIGHT BE ABLE TO APPEAR MORE OFTEN. ASKED IF THE EGYPTIANS HAD IN FACT RAISED THE QUESTION OF SPAIN'S CONFIDENTIAL

REPRESENTING ARAB INTERESTS AT CSCE IN SOME WAY (REF A) PAN DE SORALUCE SAID THAT SADAT HAD, DURING THE KING'S VISIT TO EGYPT, ONLY REFERRED IN GENERAL TERMS TO EGYPTIAN INTERESTS IN THE REVIEW CONFERENCE. HE HAD APPEALED FOR SPANISH ASSISTANCE WITH RESPECT TO THE EURO-ARAB TALKS.

13. FOLLOW-UP: PAN DE SORALUCE VOLUNTEERED THAT THERE SEEMED TO BE A BROAD SIMILARITY OF VIEWS AMONG CSCE STATES OPPOSING STRICT PERIODCITY BUT PROVIDING FOR A FURTHER REVIEW CONFER-ENCE. THE SPANISH OPPOSED THE HOLDING OF A NEW CSCE WHILE IMPLEMENTATION REMAINED POOR IN SO MANY FIELDS. WORKING GROUPS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE IN SPECIFIC USEFUL AREAS ONLY. FORMATION

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

OF A POST-BELGRADE MEDITERRANEAN GROUP WAS OPPOSED BY THE SPANISH.

14. REGARDING THE VENUE FOR A FURTHER REVIEW CONFERENCE, PAN DE SORALUCE INDICATED HE HAD YET NO INSTRUCTIONS BUT SUGGESTED THAT MADRID WOULD BE WORTH CONSIDERING.

15.FURTHER CONSULTATIONS: PAN DE SORALUCE HAS BEEN RECENTLY TO BELGRADE, VIENNA, BERN, PARIS, BRUSSELS, THE HAGUE, AND LUXEMBOURG. HE PLANS FURTHER TRIPS DURING THE SPRING TO BONN, LONDON, STOCKHOLM, HELSINKI, PRAGUE AND MOSCOW. BULGARIAN, ROMANIAN AND NORWEGIAN VISITS TO MADRID WILL PROVIDE FURTHER OPPORTUNITIES FOR CONSULTATION, AS WILL HIS ATTENDANCE AT THE ECE 32ND SESSION.

16. PAN DE SORALUCE ASKED THAT HE BE INFORMED AS SOON AS A U.S. HEAD OF DELEGATION HAS BEEN NAMED. HE WOULD LIKE TO VISIT WASHINGTON TO MEET THE U.S. HEAD OF DELEGATION WHEN DESIGNATED, AND TO DISCUSS ANY NEW ELEMENTS IN THE CSCE PICTURE WHICH MIGHT DEVELOPE IN THE WEEKS TO COME. EATON

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Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

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22 May 2009
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